/159 cont./

121 182 114 [191] /footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias, L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 182 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 184 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains and by tools and by modes.

241 412 184 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasingly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul^{c}wân, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 407 492 184 [462] In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts, zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows, and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

/160 cont./

241 and Iferd, the following distribution:

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	a. Abdella	a. Lh'sen	a. Musa	Imi'ddan	Idma	a. Mh'nd	a. H'adduyws	I. Geryun	Total
Two-beast plow	287	76	58						421
One-beast plow...		273	12	63	293	57	145	141	984
Totals	287	349	70	63	293	57	145	141	1,405

The distribution is regulated according to the line of the slope. Upstream, only the Iferd is known. Downstream, only the zzuja, which is logical and expected. For the intermediate taqbilt-s, let us go into more detail:

	zzuja	*Iferd*	
a. Lh'sen :			
Tabratjut	11	13	
Tamesdakht	5	8	
Awinas	10	1	
Agadir	6	3	
Ighilan	9	11	
Buteghradin	2	22	
Iwulla	2	30	
Wanz'id'	3	28	
That is	48	116	for the a. Lh'sen properly speaking.
Iguntar :			
Tagenza	8	22	
Tanammert	1	5	
That is.....	9	27	for this vassal taqbilt.
Ibuban :			
Talburt.....	2	20	
Amasin		18	
Timskert		16	
Tugg Lkhir		12	
That is	2	66	for this other vassal taqbilt.
Sekrat :			
Amsgerdat		26	
Fumazir	5	10	
Tageddut	4	8	
Tigumma n-Skrat	8	20	
That is	17	64	for this other vassal taqbilt.
a. Musa	58	12	

241 /161/ The limit of these two types, or rather their fringe of
407 interference, can be clearly figured by a line that would follow
492 from E. to W. the small plain of Tabratjut, downstream from
184 Z'init', and the valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. This symmetry is all the more remarkable because it does not correspond either to a difference of agricultural richness or to a change in the availability of surface. For example, it is certain that the affluence of soil is indeed greater in a. Mh'nd than in Iguntar: but the latter has zzuja-s. It is thus a matter of something other than the simple play of physical conditions.

241 This impression is confirmed by the fact that this threshold of
192 tools is duplicated by a technical and lexicographical threshold.
184 In the mountains, the word tirit or tisirit designates the planche of irrigation, edged with borders, smoothed, prepared for the water. In a. Abdella, the same word designates the initial "marquage" /marking/ of the fallow land (1)

1. Summary bibliography of this obscure notion in J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^{e} siècle)," R. afr., 1950, p. 372, n. 11.

241 before sowing. The common practice is in fact that of immediate sowing before plowing. From that one understands the sense of this checkerwork, or rather of this carving in parallel lines, the whole of which affects the form of a grill and which one sees dividing the work fields in autumn. A demarcation for the casting of seeds, a discrimination perhaps between zones where the density of the grain will be more or less forced -- and one knows that in Moroccan agriculture these variations can go from the simple to the double, depending on qualifications of the soil most often obscure to our agronomy -- all of that is understood: it is as well a technique that is conscious and defined completely by the fellah. But, in the Gharb, where the gllb, "first plowing," most often precedes the sowing, and where the direct cast, ʿala ujeh, is practiced only on the sole of sorghum, bernicha, the preliminary technique of the marking also exists. In this way small squares or